

CLOSE-KIN MARRIAGE IN ROMAN ANATOLIA

Author(s): Peter Thonemann

Source: *The Cambridge Classical Journal*, 2017, Vol. 63 (2017), pp. 143-166

Published by: Cambridge University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26431034>

## REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26431034?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26431034?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents)

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



Cambridge University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to  
*The Cambridge Classical Journal*

## CLOSE-KIN MARRIAGE IN ROMAN ANATOLIA

**Peter Thonemann\***

University of Oxford

---

Many societies have a normative preference for close-kin marriage of one or another variety. Whether this was true of any part of the Roman world has been hotly debated in recent decades. Earlier scholarship suggests that marriage between close kin may have been considerably more common in some parts of the Roman world (e.g. Egypt) than in others (e.g. the Latin West). This paper assembles the evidence for close-kin marriage throughout the Asia Minor peninsula during the Roman Imperial period, and concludes that close-kin marriage – particularly in the form of FBD (father's brother's daughter) first-cousin marriage – may have been unusually common and/or normatively desirable in Lykia and neighbouring regions.

### The problem of Roman endogamy

Early in Dio Chrysostom's *Euboicus*, a creative evocation of rural Euboia in the late first century AD, we meet two poor Euboian huntsmen. These men were the sons of two herdsmen on a large Euboian private estate, who had turned to hunting and small-scale agriculture after the confiscation of the estate by the emperor. The two huntsmen live together in a remote part of rural Euboia, and each is married to the other's sister. At the time that the *Euboicus* is imagined as taking place, the two men are on the brink of contracting a still closer relationship by marriage, since the daughter of one couple is about to marry the son of the other, her cousin two times over. These two young people had apparently lived under the same roof since birth: close-kin marriages do not come much closer than this.<sup>1</sup>

At the other end of the social hierarchy, in the fourth book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, we are introduced to a wealthy Greek family, with urban property and slave-run rural estates,

---

\* [peter.thonemann@classics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:peter.thonemann@classics.ox.ac.uk).

This paper was conceived at Lamlendra, presented to seminar audiences in Cambridge and New York (Columbia), and much improved by two anonymous CCJ referees. My thanks to all.

1 Dio Or. 7.10, 7.20, 7.65–80. Another daughter was married to a rich man in a nearby village: 7.68. On the 'Westermarck effect' (possible negative sexual imprinting against companions of early childhood), two valuable recent surveys are Rantala and Marcinkowska (2011); Scheidel (2013).

and a daughter of marriageable age. Presented with the choice of two suitors – a rich man from a neighbouring city, and the girl's own first cousin, three years older than her, and reared in the same house – the girl's parents chose to marry her to her cousin. Everyone, except the disappointed suitor, seems to have regarded this as an entirely proper and desirable outcome.<sup>2</sup>

What, if anything, can the historian conclude from these two cases of close-kin marriage in Roman Achaia? The first example is at best fictionalised; the second is unambiguously fictional, and its cultural setting is vaguely 'Greco-Roman' rather than specifically Achaean.<sup>3</sup> More or less by definition, people like Dio's Euboian huntsmen and their families are usually completely invisible to us, and it takes an optimistic disposition to argue that Dio 'must have been' reflecting widespread social realities among the rural poor of the eastern Roman empire. Cousin marriage may indeed have been common among both the rural poor and land-holding elites of Roman Greece, or it may have been a conventional literary motif for depicting a virtuous and close-knit family. At most, Dio and Apuleius show that cousin marriage was imaginable at all levels of Greco-Roman society; they certainly do not show whether it was at all typical.

For the greater part of the Roman world, our knowledge of family structures and marital preferences is pretty much limited to the evidence provided by inscribed tombstones. Generally speaking, close-kin marriage is far from conspicuous in our epitaphic corpus. An influential study of close-kin marriage in the Roman West concluded that endogamy – at least in the Roman West, and at least among the inscription-producing classes – was rare.<sup>4</sup> A large sample of elite genealogies from the first four centuries AD produced few, if any, examples of close-kin marriage among the Roman senatorial aristocracy. Moreover, a sample of several thousand Latin epitaphs from the western provinces showed only a very small proportion of marriages between people sharing the same *gentilicium*, providing some – admittedly rather fragile – proxy evidence for the relative rarity of close-kin marriage in the Roman West.

Of course, we can point to plenty of specific individual examples of close-kin marriage in epitaphs from the Latin-speaking provinces. The difficulty lies in judging how far we are entitled to generalise from particular cases. In a well-known epitaph from Simitthus in Tunisia, two patrilineal parallel cousins (the children of two brothers) commemorated their happy marriage as the decision of fate and the result of unusually close fraternal affection: 'Sulpicius Primus and Sulpicia Faustina were born of two brothers, who were very close; they were happily married, as destiny decided, with Urbica, [Faustina's] mother, lending her voice to destiny.' A second text, the tombstone of Faustina's father Sulpicius Faustus, informs us that Faustina was an only child; after her father's death, 'her mother raised her, and had great difficulty knowing to which suitor she should

2 Apul. Met. 4.26; Treggiari (1991) 118–19; Bradley (2000a).

3 'Fictive' character of the Euboic narrative: Day (1951); Ma (2000) 108–11. The world of the *Metamorphoses*: Millar (1981); Harrison (2013) (cosmopolitan). Perils of anecdote: Saller (1980).

4 Shaw and Saller (1984).

marry her; she gave her to a good man, having chosen from several'.<sup>5</sup> It is tempting to see this particular cousin marriage as having been made for good practical reasons (keeping Faustus' property within the family in the absence of a male heir); historians of structuralist inclinations might also wish to see the union as reflecting a traditional preference for endogamy among the Berber societies of North Africa. But we ought also to respect the accent placed by these two texts on specific and contingent sentimental factors: the closeness of the two brothers, the personal wishes of the mother, and the preferences of the married couple themselves. All societies (perhaps all families) have members who make odd marital choices. Hence single isolated examples of this kind do not get us very far; we certainly cannot use them as a basis for generalisations about 'traditional marriage patterns' or 'wider kinship structures' in Roman North Africa.

Nonetheless, there is no particular reason to assume that what was true of the Roman senatorial elite or of *bürgerlich* families in the western Roman Empire was also true of the peasants or civic aristocrats of Roman Anatolia or Syria. It is abundantly clear that close-kin marriage was characteristic of all levels of society in Roman Egypt, even assuming (as has recently been argued) that Egyptian 'brother-sister marriages' were in fact mostly cases of cousin marriage, with one cousin being adopted by the spouse's parents.<sup>6</sup> Marriage between first cousins seems also to have been quite normal among both elite and sub-elite groups at Roman Palmyra.<sup>7</sup> The notion that a single set of marriage preferences characterised the entire Roman Empire from Housesteads to Dura Europos – or even that there was a single characteristic 'Greek' marital system throughout the eastern Roman empire – can easily be shown to be false.<sup>8</sup> What we need is evidence for *systematic regional patterns* of close-kin marriage or its avoidance. The aim of this paper is to collect, classify and offer some preliminary analysis of a coherent (and relatively abundant) regional body of evidence for close-kin marriage, drawn from the rich funerary epigraphy of Roman Asia Minor.

## Licinnia Flavilla of Oinoanda

In the early years of the third century AD, at the small city of Oinoanda in northern Lykia, a certain Licinnia Flavilla erected a monumental mausoleum to house the tombs of her parents and ancestors. The structure's outer walls carried one of the longest inscriptions known from Roman Asia Minor, a vast genealogy of Flavilla's family, with short

5 AE 1998, 1577–8; Corbier (2005) 268–79. Compare the self-consciously defensive praise of first-cousin marriage in SEG 48, 1849 (Apamene: sixth century AD), with Feissel (1998).

6 Huebner (2007), (2013) 155–61, 187–96. For criticism see Remijsen and Clarysse (2008); Rowlandson and Takahashi (2009).

7 Smith (2013) 91–5. Close-kin marriage in Roman Mesopotamia: Lee (1988).

8 Whether the Christianisation of the Roman Empire led to a homogenisation of marital practices between East and West is not a question I can pursue here: e.g. Goody (1983); O'Roark (1996).

biographical notes on dozens of different family members.<sup>9</sup> One whole face of the mausoleum was reserved for the genealogy of Flavilla's great-grandmother, Flavia Platonis of Kibyra, who traced her ancestry back some thirty generations to the mythical foundation of Kibyra by the legendary hero Kleandros of Sparta. Another wall was dedicated to the local Oinoandan genealogy of Flavilla herself, stretching across twelve generations, and encompassing some sixty distinct individuals. A third façade (very poorly preserved) appears to have given an overlapping genealogy, this time focusing on the non-Oinoandan marital connections of Flavilla's family.<sup>10</sup>

Here is an extract from the account of Flavilla's immediate ancestors, which gives a good flavour of the whole:

Trokondas, third of that name, had a son Thoas. The sons of Thoas were Mousaios and Thoas, of whom one was known as Licinnius Mousaios, the other as Marcius Thoas, and both served as Lykiarchs. Mousaios and Ammia, daughter of Kroisos, had two sons, Licinnius Thoas and Licinnius Mousaios, homonymous with his father, as well as a daughter Tation. Marcius Thoas and Marcia Ge, daughter of Marcius Molebes Loubasis,<sup>11</sup> had a son Marcius Flavianus Thoas and a daughter Tation. The son of Marcius Thoas, Flavianus Thoas, died childless, but his daughter Tation married Licinnius Thoas, the son of Licinnius Mousaios, and they had a son Licinnius Maximus. The second Licinnius Mousaios married Licinnia Kneila[...], the daughter of Licinnius Alexippos of Choma, and their children were Licinnius Longus the Lykiarch and Licinnia Maxima and Licinnius Fronto. The children of Licinnius Thoas and his second wife Flavia Platonis, daughter of Flavius Aristokles of Kibyra, were Mucianus and Flavianus and Flavilla. The daughter of the second Licinnius Mousaios, Licinnia Maxima, married her cousin Maximus, the son of Licinnius Thoas and Tation.<sup>12</sup>

Thanks to this vast, obsessive genealogy, we probably know more about the marital choices of this one extended elite family at Oinoanda than about any other family in the entire Roman world, with the single exception of the Julio-Claudian imperial house. The first thing to strike a reader of the text is the very large number of marriages between close family members. Flavilla herself was married to her mother's stepbrother; her father and mother, Licinnius Thoantianus and Licinnia Maxima, were first cousins, the children

9 I know of no parallels for a genealogical monument on this scale. For much shorter epigraphic genealogies, see I.Milet 422 and the analogous examples collected by Chaniotis (1987) (Hierapytna, Kyrene, Chios; also SEG 38, 1544, Commagene), none of which are remotely comparable to the inscriptions on Flavilla's mausoleum.

10 IGRom. III.500 + SEG 46, 1709; Jameson (1966) 125–30, with Stemma 1; Hall, Milner and Coulton (1996) (new fragments, and reconstruction of the whole monument). For the extended kin-connections of the family see MacMullen (1990); Slavich (2003); Reitzenstein (2011).

11 [Θ]υγατὶς Μαρκίου Μο[λε]βίου Λούβασιος (IGRom. III.500); Zgusta (1964) 328 §948 ('Sicher zu teilen'); Milner and Mitchell (1995) 100 (SEG 45, 1821 and 1823, Oinoanda).

12 IGRom. III.500, col. II.1–47.

of two brothers; her paternal grandfather and great-aunt had each married their own first cousins; and so on. In total, of the thirty marriages directly recorded in Flavilla's genealogy, at least eight were marriages between close kin.<sup>13</sup> In fact, the sum total of close-kin marriages in this particular family was probably much larger: several more unions between close relatives can be plausibly inferred on the basis of their personal names.<sup>14</sup>

Closer attention reveals that marriages between kin are not evenly distributed across all the various branches of the Licinnian family tree, but seem to have been concentrated in particular branches of the family at particular periods. For example, in the mid-first century AD, as described in the extract quoted above, a certain Licinnius Thoas married his father's brother's daughter (Fig. 1). Of Thoas' own four children, Licinnius Maximus married his father's brother's daughter, and Licinnia Flavilla (grandmother of the builder of the mausoleum) married her father's brother's son: in effect a case of 'daughter-swapping' between two brothers. The next generation down, the son of one of these couples went on to marry his own father's brother's daughter. Across three generations, we find four examples of exactly the same type of marriage, between a man and his father's brother's daughter – a type known to the anthropologists as patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage, or FBD (father's brother's daughter) marriage. This recurring pattern can hardly be a coincidence. In the first century AD, the Oinoandan Licinnii seem to have gone through a phase of favouring a particular kind of close-kin marriage for their sons and daughters ('in this family, we marry our cousins').

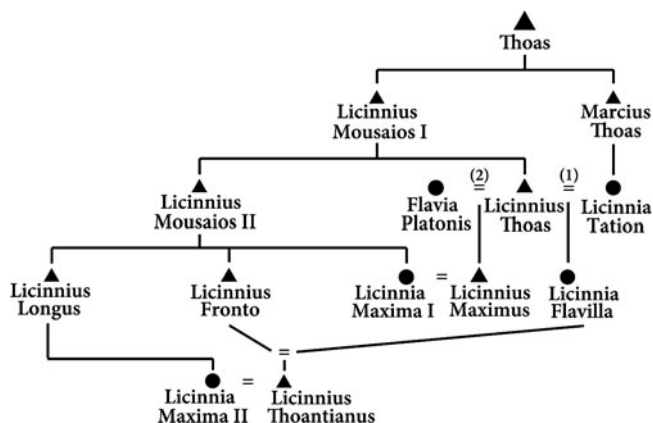
That is not to say that cousin marriage was the only possible option for family-members in this period. Some time after his original marriage to his cousin, Licinnius Thoas went on to marry a second wife from a different city altogether, Flavia Platonis, who belonged to one of the richest families of nearby Kibyra. Licinnius Thoas' brother, Licinnius Mousaios, married a woman from the Lykian city of Choma, and his niece and daughter-in-law, Licinnia Maxima (also originally married to her cousin), took as her second husband a certain Iulius Antoninus, a member of the most prominent elite family of Oinoanda.<sup>15</sup> It is tempting to think of the Oinoandan Licinnii as oscillating opportunistically between endogamy and exogamy. The two acceptable faces of Licinnian matrimony were marriage to a first cousin and marriage to a rich neighbour; certain family members even experienced both.<sup>16</sup>

13 Close-kin marriages (cf. Jameson (1966) Stemma 1): (i) Licinnius Thoas (5) = Licinnia Tation (9). (ii) Licinnius Maximus (10) = Licinnia Maxima (12). (iii) Licinnius Fronto (13) = Licinnia Flavilla (16). (iv) Licinnius Thoantianus (37) = Licinnia Maxima (35). (v) Licinnia Flavilla (38) = Aelius Aristodemos. (vi) Licinnius Fronto (54) = descendant of Flavianus (15) (SEG 46, 1709 i). (vii) Claudius [-] (51) = Mettia Androbiana. (viii) Flavianus Diogenes (48) = Claudia Androbiana (52). Nos. (i–iv) are marriages between patrilateral parallel cousins; no. (vii) is a marriage between matrilateral cross-cousins; no. (v) is a marriage between a step-uncle and step-niece; no. (viii) and (apparently) no. (vi) are marriages between second cousins.

14 E.g. Licinnius Longus' marriage to a certain Aelia Licinnia Longilla (IGRom. III.500, col. III.50–3).

15 C. Iulii of Oinoanda: Wörle (1988) 55–76; Milner and Mitchell (1995). The Licinnii eventually developed marital links with the elite civics of Kibyra, Balboura, Xanthos, Choma and Patara.

16 Reitzenstein (2011) 65. For oscillation of this kind ('centripetal' and 'centrifugal' tendencies) see Bourdieu (1977) 52–8.



**Figure 1.** Some close-kin marriages among the Oinoandan Licinnii.

The sheer length of Flavilla's genealogical inscription – unparalleled anywhere in the Roman world – is an indication of how seriously this family took its marital choices. One of the main purposes of the inscription is to commemorate a long history of 'good' marriages, both to close family members and to members of other local elite households.<sup>17</sup> For the Licinnii of Oinoanda, endogamy was not just one among several possible marital strategies. First-cousin marriage was a normative good which, when achieved, was celebrated with particular pride and pleasure. This norm did not exclude out-marriage, since successful exogamy (to a member of another local elite family) was pursued and celebrated with just as much enthusiasm. The point is that we are not dealing with a spectrum of different marital options, but with a dyad: marriage in, or marriage out.

## Representing close-kin marriage in Roman Asia Minor

The Licinnii of Oinoanda were, without doubt, profoundly unusual in the obsessive detail in which they chose to advertise their family tree.<sup>18</sup> What is harder to establish is whether they were also peculiar in their marital strategies. From this single monument alone, we cannot tell whether a preference for close-kin marriage on this scale was distinctive to (a) the Licinnii, (b) the inhabitants of Oinoanda, (c) the inhabitants of Roman Lykia, (d) the civic elites of Roman Lykia, (e) the inhabitants of Roman Asia Minor, or any number of other cross-cutting categories.

<sup>17</sup> 'Genealogical bookkeeping': Van Nijf (2010) 173.

<sup>18</sup> We should note the distinctively Oinoandan tendency towards epigraphic gigantism: Mitchell (1990) 183.

In fact, epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that marriage between close kin was very widespread among the civic elites of southern Asia Minor (Lykia, Pamphylia, Pisidia), usually between first cousins, but also between uncles and nieces and other relatives.<sup>19</sup> 'Very widespread' is probably as close as we can get to quantifying the phenomenon, since for the overwhelming majority of attested marriages, in southern Asia Minor and elsewhere, we have no means of telling whether the couple were close kin or not. The sheer volume of evidence for close-kin marriage does at least indicate that it was an entirely normal feature of elite society in the cities of Lykia and neighbouring regions. Nonetheless, as we shall see, southern Asia Minor is not typical of the peninsula as a whole: the evidence for close-kin marriage in western, northern and central Anatolia (Ionia, Lydia, Bithynia, Phrygia) is very scanty by comparison. This need not mean that close-kin marriage was actually more common in Lykia than elsewhere in Asia Minor, only that close-kin marriage is (for several overlapping reasons) more visible in our Lykian evidence than it is elsewhere.

As we would expect, most of our evidence derives from epitaphs, along with a handful of honorific inscriptions. Rather than organising the material geographically or by type of marriage, I have chosen to present it under three broad headings, reflecting the manner in which close-kin marriages are commemorated in our surviving documents. The first category consists of epitaphs and honorific inscriptions which explicitly advertise the close kinship of married couples through phrases such as 'my wife and cousin'. Documents of this type leave no room for doubt about the close-kin status of married couples; I shall call this 'marked' consanguinity. The second category consists of inscriptions which indicate blood connections between husbands and wives only indirectly, usually by giving the couple's lineages to the third or fourth generation. In such cases, the close-kin status of married couples can be inferred with reasonable certainty, but is not explicitly 'marked'; I will refer to these as cases of 'unmarked' consanguinity. The third category is made up of inscriptions which do not indicate a kin-relationship between the married couple at all, but where the couple's joint family tree can be reconstructed with the aid of other documents. I will refer to such cases as instances of 'concealed' consanguinity.

We begin with cases where families, such as the Oinoandan Licinnii, advertised their consanguineous unions with pride. At Arykanda in eastern Lykia, a lavish funerary monument of the mid-second century AD was erected by a certain 'Killortes, son of Pigres, grandson of Killortes, for Aristainete, daughter of Krateros, granddaughter of Killortes, his sweetest wife and cousin (*gynē kai exadelphos*)' (Fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> Had he wished to, Killortes could very easily have concealed his blood relationship with his wife: if his tomb-inscription had read simply 'Killortes, son of Pigres, for Aristainete, daughter of

19 Although marriages between patrilineal parallel cousins may be more visible in our evidence than other kinds of close-kin marriage: see further below, 'Conclusions'.

20 I.Arykanda 111. Killortes and Aristainete belonged to one of the wealthiest families at Arykanda: see Zimmermann (2007) 117 (stemma); Reitzenstein (2011) 191.





**Figure 2.** Funerary monument of Killortes and Aristainete of Arykanda.

Krateros, his sweetest wife’, we would never have guessed that the two were related. Instead, Killortes chose to highlight his twofold relationship with Aristainete in two different ways, both by giving their shared papponym (‘grandson/granddaughter of Killortes’) and by calling her his ‘wife and cousin’. Similarly, a third-century sarcophagus from Sidyma in western Lykia was set up by a certain M. Aur. Ptolemaios and M. Aur. Demetria, ‘the wife and cousin (*synbios kai exadelphos*) of Ptolemaios’. Had the words ‘and cousin’ been omitted from the epitaph, we would never have suspected that the couple were connected by blood.<sup>21</sup> At Olympos in eastern Lykia, around the turn of the third century, Hoplon, son of Hoplon, grandson of Diotimos, erected a tomb for himself, his parents and ‘Melitine, also known as Aristonoe, daughter of Archepolis, granddaughter of Eukles, his cousin and wife (*exadelphos kai gynē*)’; since Hoplon and Melitine’s paternal grandfathers had different names, Hoplon must have married the daughter of one of his mother’s siblings.<sup>22</sup> At a somewhat higher social level, at Rhodiapolis in western Lykia, a certain M. Arruntius Demetrios Claudianus set up a posthumous honorific inscription for his wife, a former high priestess of the imperial cult, who is further described as ‘his father’s cousin’ (*hē tou patros autou exadelphos kai gynē*), i.e. Claudianus’ first cousin once removed.<sup>23</sup>

21 TAM II.224 (third century AD). TAM II.223 records the burial of M. Aur. Demetrios, son of Hippokrates, ‘son of Demetria, and *exadelphos* of Ptolemaios’. Hippokrates was evidently an earlier husband of Demetria; *exadelphos* must therefore here carry the sense of ‘cousin once removed’ (sc. and stepson).

22 SEG 41, 1387 (Olympos). Note that Hoplon was a citizen of Olympos alone, while Melitine was a citizen of both Olympos and Gagai.

23 SEG 56, 1786 (date uncertain). The restoration [ἐξά]δελφον is certain.

Another example of ‘marked’ close-kin marriage at the very highest level of the social hierarchy comes from the city of Xanthos in western Lykia. In the early second century AD, one of the wealthiest families of Roman Lykia, the Arruntii of Xanthos, erected a huge *exedra* at the Xanthian Letöon, adorned with statues of numerous family members with associated honorific inscriptions. One of these inscriptions honours a certain M. Arruntius Teithonos, ‘father of Arruntia Hegetoris, the late wife and cousin (*gynē kai anepsia*) of Arruntius’. Thanks to other inscriptions from the Letöon *exedra*, the family’s genealogy can be reconstructed with certainty: Arruntia Hegetoris was married to her father’s brother’s son, M. Arruntius Claudianus, the first Lykian senator.<sup>24</sup> At a slightly lower social level, in the mid-second century AD, a wealthy aristocrat from Karian Stratonikeia by the name of Myonides Damylas held several major priestly offices along with Tryphaina Damyla, ‘his cousin and wife (*anepsia kai gynē*)’. The couple’s twin status as spouses and patrilateral parallel cousins was proudly recorded in two separate honorific texts, one in prose, the other in verse.<sup>25</sup>

Consanguineous marriage could also be ‘marked’ in a slightly different manner, by indicating the multiple connections of an older relative to the married couple. So for instance at Apollonia by Pisidia, a member of the city’s wealthiest family, Alexandros, son of Olympichos, describes his father’s brother on a private honorific monument as ‘his uncle and father-in-law’, implying that Alexandros had married his patrilateral parallel cousin.<sup>26</sup> At a significantly more modest social level, a villager from the eastern part of the territory of Amorion, on the western fringe of the Anatolian plateau, commemorated his ‘paternal uncle (*patrōs*) and father-in-law’, showing that he too had married his father’s brother’s daughter.<sup>27</sup> The uncle’s perspective appears in a fragmentary epitaph from Amastris in Paphlagonia, erected by a man for his ‘nephew and son-in-law’.<sup>28</sup> Finally, another example of cousin marriage among the civic elite of Karian Stratonikeia emerges from an honorific inscription for a priestly couple and their immediate relatives, in which a man is described as ‘uncle of the priest and priestess’.<sup>29</sup>

A lengthy Christian verse epitaph of the early fourth century AD, from the upper Tembris valley in northern Phrygia, stands in a class of its own. The author of the epitaph, Akakios,

24 Balland (1981) 149, no. 58. Balland’s reconstruction of the family (p. 152) should be modified in the light of Cavalier (2011) 355 Fig. 6.2 (SEG 61, 1263): Arruntia Oindeme’s husband was called M. Arruntius Apollonides, and (pace Balland (1981) 153) Arruntia Oindeme and M. Arruntius Teithonos were not cousins. Balland (1981) 251–6 postulates another first-cousin marriage at Xanthos, on very fragile grounds; in no. 80, line 3, where Balland restores [ἀνεψ]ιδάν, we could equally well have [ἀρχιέρε]ιαν or [τετελευτηκυ]ιδαν.

25 I.Stratonikeia 257a: ἡ ἀνεψιά ... καὶ γυνή (with stemma on p. 126); I.Stratonikeia 541 (SGO 1.02/06/06): πατροκασιγνήτην ἄλοχον σεμνήν τε. Cf. I.Stratonikeia 255 and 256, which do not indicate the couple’s consanguinity.

26 MAMA IV.160 (early first century AD), with stemma on p. 49.

27 MAMA VII.269 (Yukanı Ağzıazık): Ναννας Κλεάρχω πάτρω καὶ πενθερῷ. The name Ναννας could be either masculine or feminine: Zgusta (1964) 351 §1013–24.

28 Marek (1993) 164, no. 22 (Amasra): τὸν ἀδε[λ]φιδοῦν καὶ γα[μ]ιβρόν.

29 I.Stratonikeia 192: [ὁ] θεῖος τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τῆς ἱερείας (with stemma on p. 76), Ti. Fl. [–], son of Flavius Lainas = Flavia Mamalon (patrilateral parallel cousins).

had only a single child, a daughter Loukilla; after his wife's death, 'he gave her to a husband (*anēr*), her cousin (*anepsios*) Trophimos, in the hope of being tended for in his old age'. In fact, Loukilla died childless within eighteen months, leaving Akakios without descendants. This is a very rare case where we are given an indication of the intended social function of a close-kin marriage: by retaining his sole daughter within his lineage, Akakios was hoping to ensure that he would be looked after in his old age. (He may also have been motivated by practical reasons of inheritance, but if so, there is no indication of it in his epitaph.)<sup>30</sup>

'Marked' phrases such as 'wife and cousin' or 'uncle and father-in-law' leave no room for doubt about a couple's close-kin status. In other cases, the couple's consanguinity was left implicit ('unmarked'), to be inferred from the names of their parents and grandparents. A telling example derives from the city of Patara in western Lykia. In the early third century AD, two siblings from the Pataran civic elite both married close relatives. M. Aur. Nemeso, who married her mother's brother, is explicitly described in an honorific inscription from Sidyma as 'wife of her uncle (*theios*) M. Aur. Eukarpos, of eternal memory'. Around the same time, Nemeso's brother Alkimos also married a close relative, his father's brother's daughter M. Aur. ChrySION. However, in Alkimos and ChrySION's epitaph, the couple's close-kin status is not spelled out explicitly. Instead, the reader is left to infer it from their parentage, which is listed to the fourth generation (him: 'Alkimos, son of Dionysos, grandson of Alkimos, second of that name'; her: 'Marcia Aurelia ChrySION, also known as Iasonis, daughter of Alkimos, third of that name').<sup>31</sup> The two couples made rather different choices about how to mark their pre-existing kinship links. Nemeso was happy to be known as 'wife of her uncle'; Alkimos and ChrySION signalled their status as first cousins only indirectly, through their respective paternal lineages.

The epitaph of Alkimos and ChrySION thus falls into my *second* category, that of 'unmarked' consanguinity. At Kotenna in north-east Pamphylia, a woman called Kbaroues is described as 'granddaughter on her mother's side of Stanamoas, son of Setas ... granddaughter on her father's side of Neoptolemos, son of Setas'. Kbaroues was evidently the daughter of two cousins, the son and daughter of the brothers Neoptolemos and Stanamoas.<sup>32</sup> At Lykian Isinda and Arneai, and at Tyriaion in the Kabalis, marriages between patrilineal parallel cousins can be plausibly inferred on the basis of homonymous grandfathers in the paternal line.<sup>33</sup> At Olympos in eastern Lykia, a certain

30 SEG 15, 796 (SEG 30, 1484; SGO III.16/31/15: upper Tembris valley, exact provenance uncertain).

31 Nemeso and Eukarpos: TAM II.189 (cf. TAM II.188 and 190, which do not indicate the couple's consanguinity). ChrySION and Alkimos: Engelmann (2012) 196–8, no. 20. Stemma: Zimmermann (2007) 119. The family's social standing: Reitzenstein (2011) 224–5.

32 Bean and Mitford (1970) 30–3, nos. 12–13 (Hagel and Tomaschitz (1998) 95–7, Göd 1–3); Feld (2005) 108. Van Bremen (1996) 96–7 describes Kbaroues as 'probably' the granddaughter of two brothers; that Neoptolemos and Stanamoas were indeed brothers emerges clearly from Bean and Mitford (1970) no. 12a.

33 Isinda: Heberdey and Kalinka (1897) 31, no. 37; Pembroke (1965) 231 n. 2 (Hermaktas, son of Sarpedon, grandson of Hermaktas = Sembridase, daughter of Hermokrates, granddaughter of Hermaktas). Arneai: TAM II.759 (AD 101/2; cf. TAM II.766); Van Bremen (1996) 258; Reitzenstein (2011) 215 (Dioteimos, son of Ouassas, grandson of

Aur. Phidias erected a tomb for himself and his brother Epaphrodeitos, 'and for my wife Arete, daughter of Epaphrodeitos'; it is likely enough that Arete was Phidias' niece.<sup>34</sup> In a familial epitaph from Diokleia in central Phrygia, repeating patterns of personal names within the family (Eukles, Rhesimachos, Timotheos) make it clear that the children of two brothers must have married one another.<sup>35</sup> Onomastics also strongly suggest that a rich Aphrodisian aristocrat of the first century AD, Eusebes son of Menandros, married his brother Menandros' daughter.<sup>36</sup> There are several other cases in the funerary epigraphy of Asia Minor where close-kin marriage may be suspected on the basis of onomastic connections between husband and wife, but where the precise character of the relationship between the couple cannot be established with any certainty.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the two most interesting examples of 'unmarked' consanguinity derive from the small city of Sillyon in Pamphylia and from Xanthos in Lykia. At Sillyon, several honorific inscriptions of the second century AD describe the career of a wealthy female civic benefactor called Menodora, daughter of Megakles, and her son, 'Megakles (III), (adoptive) son of Megakles (II), natural son of Apollonios (III), grandson of Apollonios (II), great-grandson of Apollonios (I), great-great-grandson of Megakles (I)'. Apparently Menodora was the daughter (and perhaps sole child) of Megakles (II). She married her father's brother, Apollonios (III), by whom she had a son, Megakles (III); this boy was then adopted by his own paternal uncle (and maternal grandfather), Megakles (II). This adoption is best explained on the assumption that Megakles (II), like the Christian Akakios in northern Phrygia, would otherwise have been lacking a male heir. He hence married his daughter off to his own brother, and adopted the couple's son (his own grandson and nephew) as his heir.<sup>38</sup> The case is a beautiful illustration of some of the practical benefits of close-kin marriage and adoption in a society practising patrilineal inheritance. If a man like Megakles (II) happened to have no sons, marrying his daughter

---

Dioteimos = Lalla, daughter of Teimarchos, granddaughter of Dioteimos). Tyriaion: Naour (1980) no. 30 (badly misunderstood by Naour; in line 1, read Ἀρτέμω[ν] Μολέσεος: Artemon, son of Molesis, grandson of Hermaios = Pouas, daughter of Hermaios, granddaughter of Hermaios).

34 TAM II.1128 (text problematic); cf. Pembroke (1965) 231 n. 2 (I cannot see the relevance of TAM II.1168).

35 MAMA VI.353 (Ahrhisar), with an implausible stemma; see Thonemann (2013) 136–7. The date of the text is uncertain (probably late Hellenistic or early Imperial).

36 IAPH2007 9.1, with Van Bremen (1996) 239–40. Menandros and Eusebes donated the propylon and north portico of the Aphrodisian Sebasteion.

37 A few examples (not exhaustive): (1) MAMA VIII.352 (I.Sultan Dağı 507, Anaboura), Lucia Valeria Maxima = C. Valerius Eveius; note that Maxima's uncle (θεῖος: perhaps her mother's brother?) was named C. Eveius Eveianus (for the rare gentilicium Eveius see Salomies (2006) 104). (2) SEG 54, 1313 (Hierapolis), Aurelia Marciana, daughter of Marcianus = M. Aelius Marcianus. (3) SEG 47, 1825 (I.Konya 50, Iconium), a collective grave for two married couples, M. Aelius Sospes = Claudia Kyrilla, and Claudius Sospes Basileus = Aelia Sospitilla. (4) SEG 58, 1454 (Prusias ad Hypium), Glykon, son of Glykon, grandson of Noukchouros = Chrysion, daughter of Noukchouros (his second marriage). (5) SEG 57, 1147–8 (Daldis/Charakipolis), Neikaia = Arkesilaos, son of Asklepiades; Neikaia's maternal and paternal grandfathers were named Arkesilaos and Asklepiades respectively. (6) TAM V.1, 733 (Gordos), Tatianos, son of Tatianos and Polyneike = Polyneike. (7) SEG 39, 1303 (north-east Lydia), Ammion, daughter of Teimaos = Teimaos.

38 Van Bremen (1994), on IGRom. III.800–2 and BÉ 1967, 606.

to a close kinsman allowed him to transmit his property to his descendants while also retaining it within his own lineage.<sup>39</sup>

Interesting for different reasons is a private honorific inscription from Xanthos, dating to the early first century BC. The honorand is a certain Ptolemaios, a member of the uppermost stratum of Lykian society (he acted as ambassador to Rome on behalf of the Lykian *koinon*).<sup>40</sup> Ptolemaios was married to a woman called Arsinoe, natural daughter of Ptolemaios' brother Aichmon: Arsinoe hence married her father's brother. But, as we learn later in the text, Ptolemaios was not Arsinoe's first husband. Among the family members who joined in honouring Ptolemaios is a woman called 'Erpidasa, daughter of E[uelth]on', who describes Ptolemaios as her 'stepfather' (*patrōios*).<sup>41</sup> Arsinoe was therefore first married to a certain E[uelth]on, apparently not a kinsman; only after her first husband's death did she marry her father's brother.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that Ptolemaios married his brother's young widow in order to prevent her wealth from being misappropriated by some unsuitable suitor.<sup>43</sup>

In each of these last few cases, the spouses' status as close kin is implicit and 'unmarked': they do not indicate their blood relationship with an explicit phrase such as 'wife and cousin', but leave the reader to infer it from their respective lineages. But if (say) married cousins choose not to record the relevant bits of their genealogy at all, then their kinship is completely invisible, and we can only rely on the chance survival of other evidence to prove the blood connection. At Pisidian Termessos, where the vast number of extant funerary inscriptions (more than a thousand) is a gold mine for the reconstruction of civic elite genealogies, I have found three 'concealed' cases of marriage between patrilateral parallel cousins, and one likely case of marriage between second cousins.<sup>44</sup>

39 The same priorities are clear in the classical Athenian laws on *epiklēroi*, on which see Patterson (1998) 91–103; Vélilhac and Vial (1998) 101–17.

40 Baker and Thériault (2005) 351–66 (SEG 55, 1502).

41 Baker and Thériault (2005, 360) mistranslate the term *patrōios* as 'paternal uncle', generating chaos in their stemma of the family; they further claim that the word only has a single parallel, in I.Lindos 300, lines 4–8 (where the sense is not clear from the context). In fact, *patrōios* = 'stepfather' is perfectly common in the epigraphy of Roman Asia Minor: cf. TAM v.1.786 (Yayakırdık); SEG 56, 1259 (north-east Lydia, precise provenance uncertain); I.Smyrna 689, III.19 (a man from Thyateira, with a stepfather from Tmolos); TAM II.130 (Lydai). In the *Basilica*, *πατρώος* translates the Latin *uitricus*, 'stepfather': Bas. Schol. 45.3.2.4 = Dig. 38.10.4.6.

42 It is worth noting that Arsinoe, natural daughter of Aichmon, was at some point adopted by a certain Alkimos (SEG 55, 1502, line 7). It is tempting to suggest that Alkimos might have been E[uelth]on's father, and hence that Arsinoe was adopted by her first husband's father upon marriage: at least one analogous case is known from Roman Lykia (TAM II.148, from Lydai: see further below).

43 An anonymous referee points out the analogy with Apuleius' situation in his *Apology* (Bradley (2000b)). Apuleius' wife, a wealthy widow, had had to fight off several unwelcome marital advances from extended kin seeking to retain her wealth within the family.

44 (1) TAM III.63, with Stemma G (p. 302) and Heberdey (1929) 90–9: Apollonios (G17) = Ge (G19) (patrilateral parallel cousins). If Strabon (G1) is identical to Strabon (G4), then Apollonios' own father Strabon (G13) would have married his patrilateral parallel cousin once removed (G10, i.e. his father's brother's son's daughter). (2) TAM III.646+14, with Stemma H (p. 303) and Heberdey (1929) 99–104: Ti. Cl. Agrippinus (H13) = Ti. Cl. Nannelis (H14) (patrilateral parallel cousins). (3) TAM III.671, with Stemma O (p. 309) and Heberdey (1929) 118–20: M. Aur. Platon (O8) = Aur. Oa (O10) (patrilateral parallel cousins). (4) TAM III.741+308+668, with stemma at

Similar instances of ‘concealed’ close-kin marriages – identifiable only with the help of external evidence – are known at Lykian Idebessos (cousin marriage) and Pisidian Adada (one case of cousin marriage and one uncle–niece marriage).<sup>45</sup>

## Sibling marriage in Roman Lykia

We turn, finally, to one especially problematic category of close-kin marriage in Asia Minor, namely marriage between brothers and sisters, the evidence for which is almost entirely confined to Lykia. I know of three cases of ‘marked’ brother–sister marriage in Lykia, all from Tlos or neighbouring Arsada, and all dating to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. So, for example, a funerary monument from Tlos was erected in memory of a certain Androbios, son of Leontiskos, by (among others) ‘Teitanis, daughter of Leontiskos, for Androbios, her brother and husband (*adelphos kai anēr*)’.<sup>46</sup> There are also a further six ‘unmarked’ cases of sibling marriage, one from Istlada near Myra, one from Bonda near Limyra, three from Olympos in eastern Lykia, and one from Pisye in south-west Karia (Rhodian Peraia); in each case, brother–sister marriage can be plausibly (if not decisively) inferred on the basis of the identical names of the husband’s and the wife’s fathers.<sup>47</sup>

Ought we to take these nine cases at face value, as genuine examples of marriage between full or half-siblings?<sup>48</sup> Perhaps; but it has recently been suggested, with some plausibility, that many (and perhaps all) of these cases are likely to have resulted from the adoption of the husband by the wife’s father, and hence were in fact marriages between non-related individuals who became adoptive siblings upon marriage. An adoption of precisely this kind is directly attested in a funerary inscription from Lydai in

p. 115; M. Aur. Ptolemaios = Oa (apparently second cousins: Oa is Ptolemaios’ father’s father’s brother’s son’s daughter).

45 Idebessos: TAM II.835+859, with Stemma C (p. 303), and Pembroke (1965) 231 n. 2: Eukles = Euelthis (patrilateral parallel cousins). Adada: IGRom. III.364/5+377, with Van Bremen (1996) 258: Antiochos, son of Tlamoas = Anna, daughter of Hoplon (patrilateral parallel cousins); Tlamoas, son of Hoplon = Iaie, daughter of Antiochos (maternal uncle and niece). Both couples acted as high priests of the imperial cult at Adada.

46 TAM II.636 (ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀνδρὶ). Also TAM II.593 (Tlos: γυναικα . . . καὶ ἀδελφῆν); SEG 27, 907 (Arsada: ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυ[τ]ῆς ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀδελφ[ῷ]). Cf. Schuler (2006) 417–18.

47 SEG 56, 1745 (Istlada: Platonis, daughter of Philon = Philon, son of Philon, grandson of Hippolochos); SEG 54, 1406 (Bonda: Pteunase, daughter of Ermandeimis = Ermandyberis, son of Ermandeimis); TAM II.979 (Olympos: Aurelius [-]is, son of Rhesimachos = Athenais, daughter of Rhesimachos); TAM II.1122 (Olympos: Aur. Arteimas, son of Paua = Aurelia Tyche, daughter of Paua); TAM II.1166 (Olympos: Nise, daughter of Enteimos = Enteimos, son of Enteimos); Debord and Varinlioglu (2001) 123–4, no. 16 (Pisye: Chotis, daughter of Agriadas = Leon, son of Agriadas, both Rhodians).

48 Marriage between full siblings was practised by the Hekatomnid dynasty of Karia in the fourth century BC (Hornblower (1982) 358–63; Carney (2005) 79–83), but only the most sanguine primordialist could suppose that this has any direct bearing on sub-elite marital practices in Karia and Lykia three centuries later. Marriage between half-siblings by the same father was legal in classical Athens, but seems to have been uncommon (only a handful of examples known): Huebner (2007) 43–4. Marriage between full siblings, half-siblings and adoptive siblings was forbidden under Roman law.

the far west of Lykia, set up by Menodora, daughter of Apollonides, for her husband Theogenes, son of Theramenes, adoptive son of Apollonides.<sup>49</sup> There is, of course, no reason to think that adoptive status was always rigorously recorded in funerary inscriptions.

This hypothesis is attractive, if difficult to prove. Much depends on what we make of the very numerous contemporary cases of sibling marriage in Roman Egypt, the interpretation of which is still very much an open question (adoption at marriage or genuine brother–sister unions?).<sup>50</sup> True sibling marriage may in fact have been more widely practised in the Greek-speaking world than scholars tend to assume. It is notable that we have two cases of full sibling marriage from the Macedonian colony of Dura-Europos in the mid-first century AD, sometimes supposed (for no particularly good reason) to result from Parthian influence on local marital practices.<sup>51</sup> Given the manifold uncertainties still surrounding sibling marriage in the Greek East, it is safest to leave this handful of Lykian and Karian sibling marriages to one side for the time being.

## Conclusions

Including the eight close-kin marriages attested in the genealogy of Licinnia Flavilla, but omitting the nine Lykian and Karian cases of brother–sister marriage, we are left with a total of thirty-seven certain or highly probable cases of close-kin marriage from Roman Asia Minor, spread across the whole period from the first century BC to the fourth century AD.<sup>52</sup> These thirty-seven marriages are tabulated in [Table 1](#).<sup>53</sup> I make no grand claims for the statistical significance of this sample. It is, of course, quite impossible to judge what proportion of the total number of marriages in Roman Asia Minor (or even of

49 TAM II.148, with Huebner (2007) 31. Huebner cites further examples of this practice from rural Galatia (RECAM II.303: υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ γαμβρός) and Serrai in Makedonia (SEG 30, 596: Διοσκουρίδης Μουκάσου, φύσει δὲ Πατρὸν ... ἐαυτῷ καὶ Σουρᾷ Μουκάσου συνβίῳ). However, two other alleged Anatolian instances, MAMA I.232 and SEG 6, 137 (MAMA X.169), should be rejected: Thonemann (2013) 134, n. 37.

50 See above, n. 6.

51 SEG 2, 820–2 (Dura, AD 32/3–36/7), with Frandsen (2009) 58–9; Andrade (2013) 232. The practice of sibling marriage among the Parthian kings is not in doubt (Rougemont (2012) no. 73), but nor is there any reason to see it as distinctively Parthian: the Ptolemies and Seleukids, the Parthians' chief dynastic peers, also practised royal endogamy.

52 The size of the sample is not large enough to permit any judgements about change over time, which would anyway be rendered effectively impossible by the very varied development of the epigraphic habit over time in different parts of Roman Asia Minor.

53 I also omit the questionable cases (based on onomastics alone) collected in n. 37 above. I signal here three further cases that have been mistakenly taken as instances of close-kin marriage. (1) Bresson (1991) no. 9 (Kedreai), understood by Bresson as a case of uncle–niece marriage; but if τὸν θεῖον (line 9) means 'cousin' not 'uncle' (thus W. Blümel, *J.Rhod.Per.* 558), then the evidence for the marital connection disappears. (2) TAM II.866 (Idebessos), understood by Kalinka (TAM II p. 302, Stemma B) and Pembroke (1965) 231 n. 2) as a case of uncle–niece marriage; but τῷ γαμβρῷ (line 5) means 'brother-in-law' not 'son-in-law'. (3) Heberdey and Kalinka (1897) 33, no. 40 (Isinda), understood by Pembroke (1965, 231) as a case of cross-cousin marriage; but γαμβρῷ (line 4) means 'brother-in-law' not 'son-in-law'.



Table 1: Close-kin marriages in Roman Anatolia.

	Region	City	Reference	Relationship between spouses
1.	Karia	Stratonikeia	I.Stratonikeia 257a, 541	Patrilateral parallel cousins
2.	Karia	Stratonikeia	I.Stratonikeia 192	Patrilateral parallel cousins
3.	Karia	Aphrodisias	IAph2007 9.1	Paternal uncle/niece
4.	Paphlagonia	Amastris	Marek (1993) 164, no. 22	Cousins
5.	Phrygia	Appia (?)	SGO III.16/31/15	Cousins
6.	Phrygia	Diokleia	MAMA VI.353	Patrilateral parallel cousins
7.	Phrygia	Amorion	MAMA VII.269	Patrilateral parallel cousins
8.	Phrygia	Apollonia	MAMA IV.160	Patrilateral parallel cousins
9.	Pisidia	Adada	IGRom. III.364/5 + 377	Patrilateral parallel cousins
10.	Pisidia	Adada	IGRom. III.364/5 + 377	Maternal uncle/niece
11.	Pisidia	Termessos	TAM III.63	Patrilateral parallel cousins
12.	Pisidia	Termessos	TAM III.646 + 14	Patrilateral parallel cousins
13.	Pisidia	Termessos	TAM III.671	Patrilateral parallel cousins
14.	Pisidia	Termessos	TAM III.741 + 308 + 668	Second cousins
15.	Kabalis (Pis.)	Tyriaion	Naour (1980) no. 30	Patrilateral parallel cousins
16.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. i)	Patrilateral parallel cousins
17.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. ii)	Patrilateral parallel cousins
18.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. iii)	Patrilateral parallel cousins
19.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. iv)	Patrilateral parallel cousins
20.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. v)	Step-uncle/step-niece
21.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. vi)	Second cousins (?)
22.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. vii)	Matrilateral cross-cousins
23.	Lykia	Oinoanda	IGRom. III.500 (n. 13, no. viii)	Second cousins
24.	Lykia	Xanthos	Balland (1981) no. 58	Patrilateral parallel cousins
25.	Lykia	Xanthos	SEG 55, 1502	Paternal uncle/niece
26.	Lykia	Sidyma	TAM II.224	Cousins
27.	Lykia	Patara	TAM II.189	Maternal uncle/niece
28.	Lykia	Patara	Engelmann (2012) no. 20	Patrilateral parallel cousins
29.	Lykia	Isinda	Heberdey and Kalinka (1897) no. 37	Patrilateral parallel cousins
30.	Lykia	Arneai	TAM II.759	Patrilateral parallel cousins
31.	Lykia	Arykanda	I.Arykanda III	Patrilateral parallel cousins
32.	Lykia	Idebessos	TAM II.835 + 859	Patrilateral parallel cousins
33.	Lykia	Rhodiapolis	SEG 56, 1786	First cousins once removed
34.	Lykia	Olympos	TAM II.1128	Paternal uncle/niece
35.	Lykia	Olympos	SEG 41, 1387	Matrilateral cousins
36.	Pamphylia	Sillyon	IGRom. III.800–2	Paternal uncle/niece
37.	Pamphylia	Kotenna	Bean and Mitford (1970) nos. 12–	Patrilateral parallel cousins



marriages among the uppermost stratum of the civic elite) were marriages between close kin. Nonetheless, compared to (say) the small total numbers of close-kin marriages attested in classical Athens or in late Republican and early imperial Rome, the sheer bulk of evidence from Roman Asia Minor is impressive.<sup>54</sup>

The data fall into some suggestive patterns. We ought first to note the highly differentiated social distribution of close-kin marriage. The overwhelming majority of the examples discussed in this paper derive from the uppermost strata of the civic élite; in only a single case, from the territory of Amorion in eastern Phrygia (no. 7 in [Table 1](#)), can we be sure that we are dealing with a sub-élite and non-urban family.<sup>55</sup> Of course, most of our epigraphic evidence of any genre is the product of wealthy families; absence of evidence for close-kin marriage among rural and non-élite classes is not necessarily evidence of absence. But at the very least, our evidence provides no support for the notion that close-kin marriage was more characteristic of an indigenous substrate than of the Romanised office-holding urban elite. In a society without endogamic marital rules, there is no *a priori* reason to expect that close-kin marriage will tend to be more prevalent at village level than in elite and urban contexts; in early modern England, the opposite seems to have been the case.<sup>56</sup>

More striking still is the highly uneven *geographic* distribution of close-kin marriage in Asia Minor. As [Figure 3](#) graphically illustrates, epigraphic evidence for close-kin marriage in Roman Asia Minor is heavily concentrated in the far south of the peninsula; more than three-quarters of the relevant documents derive from Lykia and the neighbouring regions of Pisidia and Pamphylia. The evidence for close-kin marriage elsewhere in Asia Minor is exiguous: a single case from Paphlagonia, four examples from widely spaced parts of Phrygia, and three cases among the civic elites of Karian Stratonikeia and Aphrodisias. I have found not a single unambiguous case of close-kin marriage in the voluminous (and discursive) funerary epigraphy of north-east Lydia;<sup>57</sup> nor have I located any instances in the epigraphy of the old Greek cities of western Asia Minor (Ionia, Aiolis, the Troad). No doubt I have missed some examples, but I should be surprised if the overall geographic distribution were seriously affected by this.

How are we to account for this concentration of evidence for close-kin marriage among the urban elite of Lykia and adjacent regions? Was close-kin marriage actually

54 Vélilhac and Vial (1998) 124 collect seventeen Athenian cases of close-kin marriage attested in literary sources; see further Thompson (1967); Thompson (1972) 211, n. 2; Cox (1997). An up-to-date catalogue is a desideratum. Close-kin marriage is occasionally explicitly commemorated in Athenian honorific monuments of the Hellenistic period: SEG 19, 207 (θεῖον καὶ ἄνδρα); I.Délis 1975 (the same family: ἀνεψιὺν καὶ γυναικᾶ), with Dillon (2010) 50.

55 The social level of the family attested in Marek (1993) 164, no. 22 (Amastris, no. 4 in [Table 1](#)) is unclear. The Christian Akakios, from the upper Tembris valley (no. 5 in [Table 1](#)), was able to afford an unusually lavish and elegant tombstone (Mitchell (1993) II.106), and was surely a member of the civic elite of Kotiaion or Appia. It is difficult to judge the status of the family commemorated in MAMA VI.353 (Diokleia, no. 6 in [Table 1](#)); this manner of collective commemoration has no clear parallels in the region.

56 Rarity of kin marriage in rural parishes in early modern England: Macfarlane (1986) 248–50.

57 The strongest candidate is to be found in SEG 57, 1147–8 (Daldis/Charakipolis: n. 37 above), where a woman married a man whose name and patronym were identical to the names of her two grandfathers.

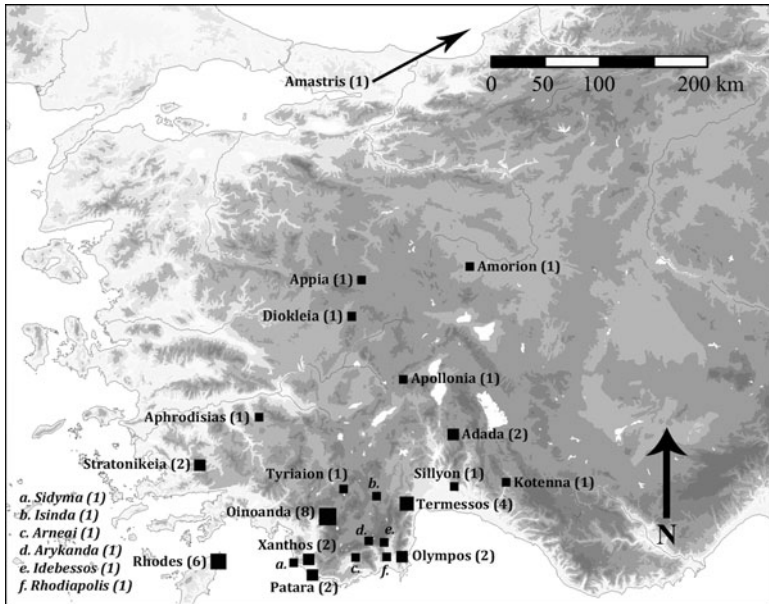


Figure 3. The geographic distribution of close-kin marriage in Roman Asia Minor.

more common in southern Anatolia than elsewhere, or are we simply dealing with a distinctively Lykian tendency towards the public commemoration of close-kin marriage?<sup>58</sup> I see no way of knowing for sure. It is certainly striking that the one part of the insular Aegean which offers a significant body of evidence for close-kin marriage is the island of Rhodes, which enjoyed intimate cultural contacts with coastal Lykia and Karia throughout antiquity. The abundant late Hellenistic and early imperial funerary epigraphy of Rhodes provides half a dozen instances of close-kin marriage, three of them explicitly commemorated ('my niece and wife').<sup>59</sup> Yet here too, it is impossible to say whether

<sup>58</sup> It is true that certain formal aspects of Lykian and Pisidian epigraphy might have led to an over-representation of close-kin marriages in the surviving evidence. The practice of listing one's parentage to the third or fourth generation (X, son of Y, grandson of Z) is unusual in most parts of Asia Minor, but common in Lykia and southern Pisidia; our knowledge of close-kin marriage at Pisidian Termessos is largely owed to this admirable local genealogical quirk. But even discounting cases of close-kin marriage known only indirectly from 'extended parentages' of this kind, attested marriages between close kin in Lykia still easily outnumber those from any other part of Anatolia.

<sup>59</sup> Close-kin marriage is explicitly commemorated in Maiuri (1925) no. 26 (first century BC/AD, τὸν ἀνεψιὸν καὶ γυναῖκα: cousin marriage), and in I.Lindos 455 (c. AD 80–100), which attests two close-kin marriages in a single family in successive generations, between an uncle and his niece (or cousin) ([Κλευκρ]άτης τὴν ἀδελφιδοῦ[αν καὶ γυναῖκα]), and then between their son and his first cousin on his mother's side (Φίλιππος [τὸν τε θί]αν καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ματέ[ρα]). Close-kin marriages are also attested in I.Lindos 382 (as restored by Rice (1986) 217–20, maternal uncle and niece, late first century BC); Peek (1967) 374–6, no. 3

close-kin marriage was actually more common on Rhodes than on (say) Samos, or whether Rhodian spouses were simply more prone to commemorate their consanguinity on stone.

On the Greek mainland, marriages between close kin are occasionally attested among civic and senatorial elites during the first three centuries AD. However, unlike in Lykia, such unions are seldom commemorated explicitly; our knowledge of them largely derives from modern reconstructions of familial genealogies.<sup>60</sup> Even if we were to suppose, *ex hypothesi*, that elite close-kin marriage was widespread in all parts of the Greek East, we would still be left with a sharp regional discrepancy in commemorative practice: the civic elites of Roman Lykia and neighbouring regions were far more willing to record close-kin marriages on stone than the civic elites of Roman Sparta and Athens. It is worth emphasising that this local pattern of commemoration is an important historical phenomenon in its own right. The fact that Lykian elites commemorated their close-kin marriages, and Spartan elites did not, is important evidence for the *normative desirability* of close-kin marriage in southern Anatolia (I shall return to this point below).

Finally, and perhaps most interesting of all, elite Anatolian close-kin marriage falls into a very clear structural pattern. The types of close-kin marriage attested in our sources can be tabulated as follows:

FBD first-cousin marriage	21
MBD first-cousin marriage	1
MBD or MZD first-cousin marriage	1
First-cousin marriage, uncertain type	3
First-cousin marriage once removed	1
Second-cousin marriage	3
Paternal uncle–niece marriage	4
Maternal uncle–niece marriage	2
Step-uncle–step-niece marriage	1
(Total	37)

Of the thirty-seven attested close-kin marriages in Roman Asia Minor (once again omitting cases of sibling marriage), a minimum of twenty-one of them (57 per cent) took the form of FBD first-cousin marriages (marriages between the children of two brothers).<sup>61</sup> No less striking is the near-total absence of any other varieties of first-cousin marriage in our data set, the sole exceptions being a single case of matrilinear

(Nisyros, with Rice (1986) 221–4, paternal uncle and niece, late second century BC); IG XII.1.107 (Rice (1986) 225–33, a man and his father's brother's daughter's daughter, c. 50 BC).

60 Spawforth (1985) 192; e.g. L. Volusenus Damares, married to his father's sister's daughter's daughter Memmia Damokratia (Spawforth (1985) 200, with Tables 1, 2 and 7); Tib. Claudius Eudamos, married to his father's half-brother's daughter Claudia Damostheneia (Spawforth (1985) 234–5, with Table 3). For a rare case where close-kin marriage was explicitly commemorated, see IG v.2.465 (Megalopolis: ἡ ἀδελφεῖδῃ καὶ νυόσῃ).

61 Again, the comparison – or rather contrast – with the Athenian literary evidence (as tabulated by Vélilhac and Vial (1998) 124) is instructive: four cases of FBD cousin marriage out of seventeen cases in total (24 per cent), along

cross-cousin marriage at Oinoanda (MBD) and a case of matrilinear cousin marriage at Olympos (MBD or MZD). We are, I suggest, entitled to speak of a *preferential marriage* system among the civic élites of southern Asia Minor in the early Roman Imperial period. Other things being equal, when men of this class married close kin, they strongly favoured marriage with their father's brother's daughter.

Might this apparent preference for FBD marriage (marriage between patrilinear parallel cousins) result from systematic over-representation of this particular type of marriage in our surviving evidence? It is of course true that, in cases of 'unmarked' and 'concealed' close-kin marriage, patrilinear parallel-cousin marriage will tend to be more visible than any other type of cousin marriage. To take a simple example: we are only able to identify a case of close-kin marriage at Arneai (no. 30 in Table 1) because the paternal lineages of both husband and wife are given to the third generation (Diateimos, son of Ouassas, grandson of Diateimos; Lalla, daughter of Teimarchos, granddaughter of Diateimos). Had Diateimos and Lalla been cross-cousins, or matrilinear parallel cousins, their lineages alone would not have revealed their status as cousins. It is, then, quite possible that the real proportion of close-kin marriages taking the form of FBD first-cousin marriages was somewhat lower than 57 per cent.

Nonetheless, I still see no reason to think that this figure is dramatically too high. We can test this claim, in a crude way, by limiting ourselves to cases where our knowledge of the kinship connection between husband and wife does not depend on the reconstruction of paternal lineages – that is to say, where we are offered an explicit statement of the character of the relationship between husband and wife ('my uncle and husband' and similar phrases). There are, by my count, thirteen such cases in Roman Asia Minor, of which at least seven (54 per cent) are cases of FBD cousin marriage.<sup>62</sup> In short, the preponderance of patrilinear parallel-cousin marriage among close-kin unions in Roman Asia Minor is not just an optical illusion. FBD cousin marriage was, at the very least, preferentially commemorated, and there is no good reason to doubt that this preference reflects real marital practices.

Demonstrating the existence of a preference for FBD cousin marriage among the elite families of Lykia and southern Anatolia is one thing; accounting for it is quite another. Most historians who have concerned themselves with cousin marriage in antiquity have been content with functional explanations of two broad kinds: retaining dowries within the family, or more generally consolidating a family's inheritance, particularly in the absence of male heirs;<sup>63</sup> and/or strengthening family ties and securing inter-generational

---

with two cases of MZD cousin marriage (matrilinear parallel cousins) and one of MBD cousin marriage (matrilinear cross-cousins).

62 Table 1, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 17, 24, 26, 27, 31, 33, 35 (omitting, once again, the three 'marked' cases of sibling marriage from Tlos and Arsada). This smaller sample gives us seven cases of FBD cousin marriage, one case of matrilinear first-cousin marriage, three cases of unspecified cousin marriage, one case of marriage between cousins once removed, and one case of maternal uncle–niece marriage.

63 Thomas (1980) 349; Treggiari (1991) 109, 116–17; Vèrilhac and Vial (1998) 87–8. Keeping family property together in the absence of male heirs: Van Bremen (1996) 257–8.

loyalty.<sup>64</sup> No doubt these functional advantages helped to determine marital choices in some individual cases. As we have seen, the marriage of Menodora of Sillyon (probably an only daughter) to her paternal uncle may well have been intended, at least in part, to provide her father with a male heir, and the Christian Akakios of northern Phrygia married his only daughter to her cousin in the hope that they would care for him in his old age.

But whether functional advantages of this kind can serve as general explanations of FBD first-cousin marriage in Roman Anatolia is more doubtful.<sup>65</sup> First-cousin marriage is in no way restricted to families which lacked male heirs. Nor do we have any reason to think that families systematically pursued close-kin marriage to the exclusion of other marital forms; as we have seen, in the case of the Licinnii of Oinoanda, first-cousin marriage and cross-polis exogamy together made up a dyad of preferred marital strategies. What is more, these functional advantages would have applied equally well to elite families at Termessos, Ephesos and Lugdunum; they cannot help to explain the distinctiveness of close-kin marriage and its commemoration in southern Asia Minor.

Perhaps most important of all, we should be quite clear that the kinds of functionalist explanations outlined above are modern rationalisations of ancient marital behaviour. We have very little direct ancient testimony that close-kin marriage in the Greco-Roman world was favoured for reasons of inheritance, dowry-preservation or the consolidation of familial property.<sup>66</sup> Neither Menodora nor the voluble Licinnia Flavilla say anything of the kind; nor do the literary sources cited at the beginning of this paper (Apuleius and Dio Chrysostom) give any hint of practical considerations informing their subjects' marital choices. That is to say, we ought to be very wary of accounting for ancient marital behaviour in terms of instrumental rationality. That a particular form of marriage happens to be economically 'rational' does not mean that it was in fact favoured for economically rational reasons.<sup>67</sup>

The fact that (some) families chose to commemorate their close-kin marriages prominently on their tombstones *when they did not need to do so* ought to be given due weight. Killortes of Arykanda and Teitanis of Tlos did not just happen to choose to marry close kin; they were sufficiently proud of having married close kin that they deliberately highlighted the character of their relationship on their funerary monuments ('Aristainete, my sweetest wife and cousin'; 'Androbios, her brother and husband'). Being married to your father's brother's daughter was not just practically useful (though it may well have been that too); it was also a matter of social prestige. The decision to identify one's

64 Thompson (1967) 280; Huebner (2013) 155–61.

65 I draw here on the important study of FBD cousin marriage by Davis (1977) 197–222.

66 Obvious exceptions are the classical Athenian laws on the marriage of *epiklēroi* (above, n. 39), and the case of Apuleius' wife (above, n. 43).

67 Nor do I believe that this regionally distinctive mode of commemorating close-kin marriage indicates the survival of a putative 'epichoric' kinship system in Roman Lykia, the positive evidence for which is non-existent. Even if, counterfactually, we were able to trace a preference for FBD first-cousin marriage back into the late Iron Age in Lykia, that would not explain anything about the purposes and functions of local elite marital preferences in the Roman Imperial period.

spouse as sibling, cousin or uncle on one's tombstone should, I suggest, be seen as analogous to recording the fact that one's spouse was a Roman citizen, a city-councillor, or a faithful and devoted wife. Being a Roman citizen, or being a faithful wife, of course brought certain practical benefits to an individual and his or her family, but they were also highly desirable traits *for their own sake*. In parts of southern Anatolia – although not, apparently, elsewhere in the peninsula – close-kin marriage was a categorical good, quite independent of its instrumental benefits.

This normative preference for particular kinds of close-kin marriage (at least among upper social classes, and at least in Lykia) ought not to be reduced to a single functional explanation, any more than the normative preference for faithful wives can be reduced to a question of instrumental rationality. In southern Anatolia, as elsewhere in the Roman world, there were plenty of good reasons for marrying one's father's brother's daughter: private sentiment, familial solidarity, maintaining inheritance, and so forth. What we can say is that in Lykia, in contrast to other parts of the Roman world, there was an additional reason for marrying one's father's brother's daughter, namely that this was a sufficiently socially prestigious act for one to be able to boast about it to other Lykians on one's tombstone. As a result, it is possible that rates of close-kin marriage, FBD first-cousin marriage in particular, ended up being higher in coastal southern Anatolia than elsewhere in the peninsula (or indeed elsewhere in the Roman world). However, since we have no evidence of any kind about actual rates of different varieties of marriage, either in Lykia or elsewhere, this can be no more than an informed guess.

## Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow those given in LSJ and/or the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third revised edition), with the following additions:

I.Aph2007	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> (2007). <a href="http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/">http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/</a>
I.Arykanda	S. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Arykanda</i> . IGSK 48. Bonn, 1994.
I.Delos	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , 7 vols., Paris, 1926–72.
I.Konya	B. H. McLean, <i>RECAM IV: Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum</i> , Ankara, 2002.
I.Lindos	C. Blinkenberg, <i>Lindos. Fouilles et recherches</i> , 1902–14. Vol. II: <i>Inscriptions</i> , 2 vols., Copenhagen and Berlin, 1941.
I.Milet	A. Rehm, P. Herrmann et al., <i>Inschriften von Milet</i> , 3 vols., Berlin, 1997–2006.
I.Rhod.Per.	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia</i> . IGSK 38, Bonn, 1991.
I.Smyrna	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> , 2 vols. in 3. IGSK 23–4, Bonn, 1982–90.
I.Stratonikeia	M. Ç. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia/The Inscriptions of Stratonikeia</i> , 3 vols. in 4. IGSK 21–2, 68, Bonn, 1981–2010.

- I.Sultan Dağı  
RECAM II  
SGO
- L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı* 1. IGSK 62, Bonn, 2002.  
S. Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor 2: The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia*, Oxford, 1982.  
R. Merkelbach and F. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, 5 vols., Munich and Leipzig, 1998–2004.

## Works cited

- Andrade, N. J. (2013) *Syrian identity in the Greco-Roman world*. Cambridge.
- Baker, P. and Thériault, G. (2005) 'Les Lyciens, Xanthos et Rome dans la première moitié du ier s. a. C.: nouvelles inscriptions', *Revue des études grecques* 118.2, 329–66.
- Balland, A. (1981) *Fouilles de Xanthos. Volume VII: Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon*, Paris.
- Bean, G. E. and Mitford, T. B. (1970) *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, Vienna.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a theory of practice*, translated by R. Nice, Cambridge.
- Bradley, K. (2000a) 'Fictive families: family and household in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius', *Phoenix* 54, 282–308.
- (2000b) 'Romanitas and the Roman family: the evidence of Apuleius' *Apology*', *Canadian Journal of History* 35, 215–39.
- Bresson, A. (1991) *Recueil des inscriptions de la pérée rhodienne (pérée intégrée)*, Paris.
- Carney, E. D. (2005) 'Women and Dunasteia in Caria', *American Journal of Philology* 126.1, 65–91.
- Cavalier, L. (2011) 'Rapport sur la campagne de fouille 2010 au Létôon', *Anatolia Antiqua* 19, 351–8.
- Chaniotis, A. (1987) 'Ein neuer genealogischer Text aus Milet', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 10, 41–4.
- Corbier, M. (2005) 'Family and kinship in Roman Africa', in M. George (ed.), *The Roman Family in the Empire*, Oxford, 255–85.
- Cox, C. (1997) *Household interests: property, marriage strategies, and family dynamics in ancient Athens*, Princeton.
- Davis, J. (1977) *People of the Mediterranean*, London.
- Day, J. (1951) 'The value of Dio Chrysostom's Euboean discourse for the economic historian', in P. R. Coleman-Norton (ed.), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of A. C. Johnson*, Princeton, 209–35.
- Debord, P. and Varinlioglu, E. (2001) *Les hautes terres de Carie*, Bordeaux.
- Dillon, S. (2010) *The female portrait statue in the Greek world*, Cambridge.
- Engelmann, H. (2012) 'Inschriften von Patara', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 182, 179–201.
- Feissel, D. (1998) 'Deux épigrammes d'Apamène et l'éloge de l'endogamie dans une famille syrienne du vie siècle', in I. Ševčenko and I. I. Hutter (eds.), *AETOS: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango*, Stuttgart, 116–36.
- Feld, K. (2005) *Barbarische Bürger: Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich*, Berlin.
- Frandsen, P. J. (2009) *Incestuous and close-kin marriage in ancient Egypt and Persia: an examination of the evidence*, Copenhagen.
- Goody, J. (1983) *The development of the family and marriage in Europe*, Cambridge.
- Hagel, S. and Tomaschitz, K. (1998) *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften*, Vienna.
- Hall, A. S., Milner, N. P. and Coulton, J. J. (1996) 'The mausoleum of Licinnia Flavilla and Flavianus Diogenes of Oinoanda: epigraphy and architecture', *Anatolian Studies* 46, 111–44.
- Harrison, S. (2013) 'Milesiae Punicae: how Punic was Apuleius?', in T. Whitmarsh and S. Thomson (eds.), *The romance between Greece and the East*, Cambridge, 211–21.
- Heberdey, R. (1929) *Termessische Studien*, Vienna.
- Heberdey, R. and Kalinka, E. (1897) *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Vienna.
- Hornblower, S. (1982) *Mausolus*, Oxford.

- Huebner, S. (2007) "“Brother–sister” marriage in Roman Egypt: a curiosity of humankind or a widespread family strategy?“, *Journal of Roman Studies* 97, 21–49.
- (2013) *The family in Roman Egypt*, Cambridge.
- Jameson, S. (1966) 'Two Lycian families', *Anatolian Studies* 16, 125–37.
- Lee, A. D. (1988) 'Close-kin marriage in late antique Mesopotamia', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 29, 403–13.
- Ma, J. (2000) 'Public speech and community in the Euboicus', in S. Swain (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom: politics, letters, and philosophy*, Oxford, 108–24.
- Macfarlane, A. (1986) *Marriage and love in England 1300–1840*, Oxford.
- MacMullen, R. (1990) 'Women's power in the principate', in *Changes in the Roman Empire: essays on the ordinary*, Princeton, 169–76.
- Maiuri, A. (1925) *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence.
- Marek, Chr. (1993) *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*, Tübingen.
- Millar, F. (1981) 'The world of the Golden Ass', *Journal of Roman Studies* 71, 63–75.
- Milner, N. P. and Mitchell, S. (1995) 'An exedra for Demosthenes of Oenoanda and his relatives', *Anatolian Studies* 45: 91–104.
- Mitchell, S. (1990) 'Festivals, games, and civic life in Roman Asia Minor', *Journal of Roman Studies* 80, 183–93.
- (1993) *Anatolia: land, men, and gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- Naour, Chr. (1980) *Tyriaion en Cabalide: épigraphie et géographie historique*, Zutphen.
- O'Roark, D. (1996) 'Close-kin marriage in late antiquity: the evidence of Chrysostom', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 37, 399–411.
- Patterson, C. (1998) *The family in Greek history*, Cambridge, MA and London.
- Peek, W. (1967) 'Epigramme und andere Inschriften von Nisyros', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Uni. Halle-Wittenberg* 16, 369–87.
- Pembroke, S. (1965) 'Last of the matriarchs: a study in the inscriptions of Lycia', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8.3, 217–47.
- Rantala, M. J. and Marcinkowska, U. (2011) 'The role of sexual imprinting and the Westermarck effect in mate choice in humans', *Behavioural Ecology and Sociobiology* 65, 859–73.
- Reitzenstein, D. (2011) *Die lykischen Bundespriester: Repräsentation der kaiserzeitlichen Elite Lykiens*, Berlin.
- Remijsen, S. and Clarysse, W. (2008) 'Incest or adoption? Brother–sister marriage in Roman Egypt revisited', *Journal of Roman Studies* 98, 53–61.
- Rice, E. E. (1986) 'Prosopographika Rhodiaka', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 81, 209–50.
- Rougemont, G. (2012) *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum ii/i: Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie Centrale*, London.
- Rowlandson, J. and Takahashi, R. (2009) 'Brother–sister marriage and inheritance strategies in Greco-Roman Egypt', *Journal of Roman Studies* 99, 104–39.
- Saller, R. P. (1980) 'Anecdotes as historical evidence for the principate', *Greece & Rome* 27, 69–83.
- Salomies, O. (2006) 'Roman names in Pisidian Antioch: some observations', *Arctos* 40, 91–107.
- Scheidel, W. (2013) 'Evolutionary psychology and the historian', *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics* 041303, [www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/041303.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/041303.pdf)
- Schuler, Chr. (2006) 'Inschriften aus dem Territorium von Myra in Lykien: Istlada', *Chiron* 36, 395–451.
- Shaw, B. D. and Saller, R. P. (1984) 'Close-kin marriage in Roman society?', *Man* 19.3, 432–44.
- Slavich, C. (2003) 'Due famiglie dell'aristocrazia licia in età imperiale', in B. Virgilio (ed.), *Studi Ellenistici* xv, Pisa, 275–95.
- Smith, A. M. III (2013) *Roman Palmyra: identity, community & state formation*, Oxford.
- Spawforth, A. J. S. (1985) 'Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 80, 191–258.
- Thomas, Y. (1980) 'Mariages endogamiques à Rome', *Revue Historique du Droit Français et Étranger* 58, 345–82.
- Thompson, W. E. (1967) 'The marriage of first cousins in Athenian society', *Phoenix* 21, 273–82.



- (1972) 'Athenian marriage patterns: remarriage', *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 5, 211–25.
- Thonemann, P. (2013) 'Households and families in Roman Phrygia', in P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: culture and society*, Cambridge, 124–42.
- Treggiari, S. (1991) *Roman marriage: iusti coniuges from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian*, Oxford.
- Van Bremen, R. (1994) 'A family from Sillyon', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104, 43–56.
- (1996) *The limits of participation: women and civic life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman periods*, Amsterdam.
- Van Nijf, O. (2010) 'Being Termessian: local knowledge and identity politics in a Pisidian city', in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *Local knowledge and microidentities in the Imperial Greek world*, Cambridge, 163–88.
- Vérilhac, A.-M. and Vial, C. (1998) *Le mariage grec du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. à l'époque d'Auguste*, Athens and Paris.
- Wörle, M. (1988) *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Munich.
- Zgusta, L. (1964) *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague.
- Zimmermann, M. (2007) 'Die Archiereis des lykischen Bundes: Prosopographische Überlegungen zu den Bundespriestern', in Chr. Schuler (ed.), *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien*, Vienna, 111–20.